



Co-producing knowledge and Morocco's musical heritage: a relational paradigm for colonial scholarship

Jann Pasler

To cite this article: Jann Pasler (2024) Co-producing knowledge and Morocco's musical heritage: a relational paradigm for colonial scholarship, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 29:1, 84-130, DOI: [10.1080/13629387.2022.2099844](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2022.2099844)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2022.2099844>



© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 07 Sep 2022.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 3140



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 1 View citing articles [↗](#)

relationships shaped through shared responsibility for outcomes emerge as significantly more complex than between ‘superiors and subalterns’, reaching parity at the Fez festival (1939). Their multifaceted work continues to influence knowledge and praxis today. To understand this requires a new paradigm for colonial scholarship.

KEYWORDS Prosper Ricard; Alexis Chottin; cultural renovation; Andalusian music; Chleuh music; Radio-Maroc

Today, who would imagine that two volumes on Moroccan music – published in 1931 and 1933 by a French settler, Alexis Chottin – take up more than a foot of bookstore shelf space in Rabat? (Figure 1) As a local professor of ‘Andalusian music’ recently explained to me (Harrate Daoudi 2016), these are still being studied and taught in Moroccan conservatories, especially the musical transcriptions. They document the voices and music of some of the most important musicians of the colonial period, inaccessible elsewhere. Given such demand, a facsimile version from Casablanca appeared in 1987, reissued numerous times through 2012. An Arabic translation of Chottin’s magnum-opus, *Tableau de la musique marocaine* (1939), is currently underway. Similarly, Moroccans continue to consult the work of his collaborator, the colonial administrator Prosper Ricard, who commissioned, directed and prefaced Chottin’s *Corpus de musique marocaine*. Ricard’s multi-volume *Corpus de tapis marocains* (1923–1934) was republished between 1975 and 2001, digitised in 2020.

Ongoing interest in this research years after Moroccan independence (1956) suggests that the colonial heritage lingers on when Moroccans consider this legacy useful. In the political sphere, alongside the ongoing,



Figure 1. Photo by Jann Pasler. Librairie Livre Service, Rabat (11 July 2019).

To address these paradoxes, I examine colonial cultures as what the Caribbean poet-philosopher Edouard Glissant calls a two-way 'Relation' wherein native and settler populations were mutually, if unequally, transformed. As he points out, 'decolonisation will have done its real work when it goes beyond' notions of identity as 'primarily 'opposed to' the coloniser. Every identity is 'extended through a relationship with the Other', every Relation 'newness' (Glissant 1997, 11, 17, 177). Methodologically, this article follows in the tradition of scholars who argue similarly that history is the study of 'organic relationships' (Chikhaoui 2002, 17) and coloniser and colonised were 'mutually shaped in intimate engagement' (Cooper and Stoler 1997; Cooper 2005). In Moroccan craft culture, Irbouh 2005 acknowledges that 'reforms emerged from a negotiated process' and 'new alliances' between French and Moroccans. To understand this 'variegated reality', he advises 'analysis' over 'advocacy'. However, without examining the Protectorate's considerable archives, now at ANM, Irbouh was unable to identify those who participated in such alliances and the nature of 'political cooperation' that enhanced 'stability and order in the medinas' (22, 54, 68). In this article, I show how musical practices enabled and embodied such relationships, more complex and unpredictable than 'the dichotomy of superior and subaltern'. Like post-colonial Moroccan critic Khatibi, I prefer 'the risk of plural thought' to binary oppositions (Rice 2009, 116). Close study of these archives has allowed me to document not only the actions of French settlers in a domain long ignored by scholars, but also, significantly, the power, agency and contributions of specific Moroccan musicians, despite whatever conditions were imposed on them.

The Relations here discussed anticipated those dominating applied research on knowledge production today, from science and technology to climate change, health and other public services. Such research not only acknowledges multi-faceted contextual issues, but also involves dynamic interactions with local participants, addressing what is relevant and important to them. That is, 'partners recognise that the key change agents are not the programme 'makers and shakers' and the strategies they introduce, but rather the agents on the ground and how they respond to the opportunities afforded by the programme' (Heaton, Day, and Britten 2015, Table 1). I have found similarly that whereas, traditionally, knowledge-producers rarely involve those who 'commissioned, provided, or used' their work, Ricard, Chottin and Moroccan musicians came together as policy maker, scholar and practitioners to co-produce musical knowledge.³ What linked them was concern for and interest in the future of Moroccan music.

To understand what the Moroccan Protectorate wished to accomplish with music, we begin with its cultural agendas, especially 'cultural protection' of the Moroccan heritage. How did it come to be, for example, that the 2011 Moroccan constitution included the Andalusian tradition as integral to

brought local research experience, connections with Moroccan elites, and the State's power. He had worked with artisans in Algeria before General Hubert Lyautey, Resident-General (1912–1925), lured him to Fez where, for economic and cultural reasons discussed below, he was charged with renovating Moroccan crafts. Beginning in 1920, when he took interest in Moroccan music, Ricard became responsible for informing his superiors on musical matters, making policy, giving subsidies and promoting musical renaissance. Algerian-born Chottin, who earned his living as professor of Arabic in Moroccan schools, had Western musical training, studied Moroccan musical traditions with openness and curiosity, and enacted these policies. Both pursued educational goals, seeking to attract, inform, and produce advocates among both insiders and outsiders to the Moroccan heritage. As 'informants', Moroccans assured the credibility of their scholarship. However, co-production of scientific knowledge is different if the sources are practitioners. Performance gives participants a voice. Moroccan musicians like Si Omar Jaïdi, Si Mohammed MBirkô, and Raïs Hadj Belaïd were highly-respected master musicians and, thus, valuable partners.

Their collaborations produced knowledge in four ways – through identities, discourses, institutions and representations.⁸ These involved musical practices, what Feld (2015) calls 'knowledge-in-action', examined here in music education, concerts, festivals, recordings and radio. Such contexts provided Moroccan musicians with opportunities for self-development and access to the public sphere where they could build careers and sustain Moroccan music over time. How exactly this music evolved through such collaborations remains for specialists to ascertain, the article laying a foundation. Even if aligned with colonial agendas, their contributions to musical life offered opportunities for Moroccans and Westerners to listen to one another, itself a 'hermeneutic act' (Barthes 1991), especially in hybrid forms that allowed people, through music, to move between identities, experiencing them both. Challenging divisions within Moroccan society, Protectorate officials presented diverse Moroccan musical traditions and sought to involve 'all classes of [Moroccan] society' as teachers, pupils, performers and listeners (Ricard 1930, 28). This article seeks to help us better understand the legacy of such Relations, encouraging a multi-dimensional approach to colonial scholarship.⁹

Agendas of the Moroccan Protectorate

'Cultural Protection'

In today's focus on the domination/submission paradigm, we often miss differences from one colonial context to another and the larger agendas underlying cultural policies.

Arts (SIA), an administration inspired by an Algerian precedent with no French equivalent. Under Lyautey's direction and with support from the Sultan, Georges Hardy, Director of Public Instruction, created the former as a school for colonial administrators, not following the model of learned societies in France, instead promoting 'disinterested research', starting with geography, history, antiquities, Moroccan medicine, language dialects, poetry and songs (Hardy 1920, 6) – ethnographies needed to understand Moroccans. Early members included two Algerians, Azouaou Mammeri and Ben Smaïl, and music teacher, Marie-Thérèse de Lens. The Institute produced a *Bulletin*, scholarly journal, *Hesperis*, and annual congresses.

At its first congress, Mlle de Lens addressed Moroccan music, noting that the Andalusian tradition 'strongly influenced' Western music during the Middle Ages and 'shines light on the origins of our music'. But worried about the impact of Western progress, she noted that as Lully's orchestras with modern violins pushed aside the viola da gamba, the old lute and the rebab were disappearing in Morocco, played by only a few masters. After describing such instruments and transcribing musical excerpts, she asserted that, if one could form 'perfect' Moroccan orchestras that Europeans would admire like the old *medersas*, one could 'save this music from eternal oblivion' (Lens 1920, 137, 151–152).

The SIA, attached to Public Instruction, opened that year in Rabat's Kasbah des Oudayas. In some ways, its policies echoed those of 'cultural protection'. To help Moroccan artisans thrive and compete more effectively, this administration was charged with collecting, conserving, categorising, describing useful models, and promoting these arts in exhibitions, local and foreign (DG 1931, 18–19, 23). Echoing nationalists' call in 1938 to take inspiration from 'the spirit of entrepreneurship' and 'hard work' in 'civilised nations' (Hajji 2007, 236), Ricard 1941 notes that 'entrepreneurs and producers' who 'transmit an art, a skill, a tradition, a culture', 'teach the meaning of and taste for work well-done, train apprentices, are disciplined and able to adapt to modern life'. In this, musicians could share much with artisans. In 1925, after approving the statutes of L'Andalousia, Hardy asked the SIA to develop an official policy to support 'indigenous music', in 1926 contributing 3000 francs (DG 1931, 27). This window of opportunity opened the possibility of research and cultural action not only for, but also with Moroccans.

Renovation in the 'Indigenous Arts': Prosper Ricard

Prosper Ricard (1874–1952) was trained at the Ecole Normale in Algiers and learned Arabic and Kabyle (Tamazight). Besides directing professional schools for artisans in Tlemcen and Oran, Algeria (1900–1909), he published studies of their work. In 1915, Lyautey hired him to serve as Inspector of Indigenous Arts in Fez and Meknes. On his first visit, Ricard encountered

and music (Marouf 2014, 419). Showing respect for Moroccan traditions, Ricard acquired insights into not only the interests and tastes of urban elites, but also the closed, intimate spaces of Moroccan society.

Ricard's attention to Andalusian music began in 1907 when the Algerian government sent him on a mission to study the architecture and monuments of Andalusian Spain. Later, like Ben Smaïl and Mlle de Lens, he understood that its musical tradition, as practiced in North Africa, had suffered 'decadence' from

lack of direction, lack of teachers, lack of appropriate instruction, lack of written documents, ... and lack of generosity because the professionals, miserly and difficult to learn from, were very little interested in passing this on to others, including future competitors, and so Moroccan music became more and more impoverished each day.

He also found problematic deformations in Andalusian music over time, especially what resulted from 'brassage', or mixing with outside influences, an analogue to the 'contamination' he attributed to transformations in the decorative arts (Ricard 1918a, 7; 1931a, i, ii; 1932b; Pasler 2015). Chottin (1946) later dated the era of 'exile, anarchy, and decadence' as 1492–1934, implying positive change under the Protectorate.

Ironically, it was not modern European music that most concerned Ricard, rather the growing taste for popular song from Egypt, independent since 1922. In 1930, he explained, 'North Africa has its eyes turned towards Egypt whose every thought, every form of art, especially music, is avidly absorbed by the North African Muslim elite, as if the only spiritual nutrition worthy of its aspirations'. 'Foreign airs' on recordings from the Arab world, he contended, were 'marked by a dubious modernism and made with a commercial purpose' from which 'Andalusian music derives no benefit'. Ricard feared a loss of its originality, 'an imminent collapse [of the genre] precipitated by bad use of the gramophone and the radio, adopted with enthusiasm in all Moroccan milieux'. The 'local heritage' risked disappearing, along with its lingering European legacy. This would justify the utility and allure of 'recovery' by the Protectorate (Ricard 1930, 92; 1931a, ii; 1931b, 10; 1932c, 20, 24; Pasler 2015).

In systematically organising his action in the decorative arts, Ricard explained, 'collecting, conserving, and describing old works is not enough. We must produce new ones. For this, we must contact people, decide on the most capable to accomplish this', then 'make an inventory, study, and revive the past: such is the programme we have pursued from the beginning' (Ricard 1930, 26; 1931b, 6, 8). Similarly, his musical agenda – teaching old airs, performing them, making recordings, and creating a Museum of Moroccan Music with instruments and poetry anthologies – would make musical renovation possible, a compelling argument for cooperation. Crucial was finding Moroccans with similar interests.

Moroccan musicians in their own traditions was virtually non-existent.¹⁴ With funding from Jean Gotteland, director of Public Instruction, Fine-Arts and Antiquities, CMM began in October 1929 as a Cercle musical in the SIA premises at the Oudayas, then under Chottin as director. Teaching Arabic to Moroccan elites' sons for years had not only assured Chottin a stable job and local credibility, this language proficiency undoubtedly helped in communicating with Moroccan musicians.

Aiming to participate in the 'general work of reconstruction undertaken by Marshall Lyautey' (Chottin 1934), Chottin not only organised and administered CMM's classes, but also collaborated with Moroccan colleagues on research to 'determine the diverse musical genres and their relationships with dance and popular theatre, notate the music, realise well-chosen recordings, and assemble documents to serve the history of music' (Ricard 1935b, 19; 1932c, 21, 23). This led to wide recognition. In May 1931, the Académie française awarded him a medal for 'all his work, particularly his contributions to music education in Morocco'. That same month, the Parisian *Ménestrel* reproduced his 1928 lecture on Moroccan music and its publisher, Editions Heugel, issued the first volume of his *Corpus de musique marocaine: Noubade Ochchâk*, a study and transcription of Andalusian music in contemporary Morocco (Chottin 1931) – see Figure 1. *La Revue musicale du Maroc* reminded readers of 'all that Moroccan music owes to him' (N.A. 1931, e.g. Chottin 1923 to 1931). Later in 1939, Chottin's synthetic *Tableau de musique marocaine* was published by the most important Orientalist press in France, Editions Geuthner, also publisher of Prosper Ricard's four volumes of Moroccan rug designs and Baron d'Erlanger's monumental six-volume *La Musique Arabe*, similarly reprinted in 2001. The *Tableau*, widely reviewed in press, won the Prix du Maroc in 1938.

Yet, Chottin's pursuits as a respected, albeit self-taught, ethnographer and scholar of Moroccan music do not tell the whole story. His life was characterised by 'pluriactivity', several simultaneous and successive types of work.¹⁵ Over the years, he composed symphonic poems, melodies, Arabic songs, and variations on Moroccan themes, some of these 'transcriptions, translations, and harmonizations' of Moroccan music he had collected. As music critic and Moroccan correspondent for *Ménestrel* (1930–1939), his reviews of Western music concerts – from visiting Parisian soloists, such as Alfred Cortot, Wanda Landowska, Pierre Bernac and Francis Poulenc, to the children of French settlers – built Westerners' trust in Chottin, perhaps leading to the publication of his Moroccan music ethnographies in France. Moreover, in his essays on Moroccan music,¹⁶ Chottin used his cross-cultural sensitivities to explain Moroccan musical concepts to Westerners. In trying to describe the five-beat rhythms of Berber music, rare in French music, he asked French listeners to remember an air from Gounod's *Mireille* (Chottin 1928). He proposed that this five-beat pattern

vegetation and designs from Asia Minor. The latter, with its multiple influences, were also harder to define (Ricard 1917, 1918a, 1918b, 10). When it came to music, while admitting that there could be a third kind that results from 'their interpretation, their mixing', Ricard similarly distinguished between 'rural' music – peasant, primitive, as varied as the contours of the soil that changes so much' from the mountains to the Sahara – and 'urban' music – 'learned and refined, from Andalusian memories that recall the Reconquest, quite unified and more or less classical ... often performed in bourgeois gatherings' (Ricard 1931a, ii, v). Chottin connected the binaries mentioned above to two kinds of 'aural education', the first defined by rhythm, its 'primitive' nature linked to rural people's closeness to nature, the second by melody, associated with 'the civilised, the refined' aspects of city life. Moreover, as he explained, whereas rural Berber music – older and more varied – was performed outdoors, in public, and accompanied by dance, urban Andalusian music – a classical art with its own 'monuments' – was played indoors, in private, and by highly trained musicians (Chottin 1928, 4–7).

With important differences, this discourse recalls long-standing divisions in Europe between city and countryside, predating colonial strategies of domination, and French approaches to folk music. Ricard's and Chottin's use of 'refined' and 'civilised' for urban Andalusian music, 'peasant, primitive' for rural Chleuh music, recall the importance of class in such divisions in Europe. While, in Europe, they connoted written vs. oral communication, with folk songs composed collectively and 'usually disseminated anonymously', in Morocco, urban art music was also an oral tradition and Chleuh master musicians were widely recognised. More pertinent than Scottish and German traditions (Gelbart 2007) are French predecessors. In the 1880s Bourgault-Ducoudray allied 'primitive music' with 'primitive races' taking refuge from outside influences in the mountains, thus synonymous with racial origins. Similarly, Berbers retreated to the mountains with the Arab invasion. Julien Tiersot looked to 'melodic types' of the French *chansons populaires* as 'the remaining debris of the primitive art of our race' (Pasler 2007, 156–157), but there were many races in Morocco. Embraced and idealised, 'primitive', meaning developmentally early, was also applied in France to certain art music, e.g. Palestrina's early polyphony, popular in the 1890s. But, unlike Western art music, fixed by written notation, the ever-changing nature of *chansons populaires*, characterised by variations in melodic formulae and rhythms over time and space, suggest the effects of not only oral transmission, but also acclimatisation, i.e. adaptation to context, and assimilation – key elements in French imperialism as well as Chleuh music. Finding these variants across France suggested a shared tradition, capable of signifying the nation not through 'purity' or nature, as Gelbart identifies elsewhere, but omnipresence. Likewise, Chleuh groups' extensive tours around Morocco,

mountains and include music. In 1932, Ricard wrote on the arts and music of Souss and asked Chottin to turn next to music of the Chleuh, 'a very important part of the Moroccan population, larger than that of all the cities put together' (Ricard 1933a, 5). With regions the Chleuh inhabited largely remaining outside the Protectorate until 1934, it was looking to incorporate them, political interests underlying musical choices.

Chottin's *Corpus II* (1933b) focuses on Chleuh music and dance from the Haut Atlas, Anti-Atlas and Souss. The Chleuh, chosen for their musical talent and 'suppleness in terms of assimilation', were known for their 'pastoral isolation', recalling the French folk. Ricard wrote a preface and introduction to Chottin's analysis. He presents the major practitioners and troupe members by name, their instruments, poetry, performing tours and three-partite spectacles – an instrumental prelude, song, and dance. Just as Chottin's volume 1 follows the model of Rouanet/Yafil's *Répertoire* in terms of monodic transcriptions with rhythms notated on separate staves and texts in both French and Arabic, volume 2 presents musical transcriptions of short tunes in various musical modes. These were organised geographically and acknowledging tribal ethnicities or by performance group. The rest, refuting the lack of invention Montagne saw as characteristic of Berbers, focuses on notation of the composite rhythms, gestures, and dance movements accompanied by Chleuh music, including foot patterns, bodily positions, and group configurations. This volume – first of its kind – thus ties musical fragments and their rhythms to dance steps. Photographs of performers with instruments and in dance positions bring the notations to life. In Chottin (1939), the author further explores its rhythmic complexity. To show the four parts of the body enacting Chleuh musico-choreography, he developed another innovative notation consisting of a four-line staff, each with its own meter (e.g. 2/4 and 6/8) (Figure 2).

There were also other reasons to focus on the Chleuh, largely sedentary people. Their music suggested that North Africans had common origins with not only the Middle East and Europe through Arabo-Andalusian music, but also ancient Greece. Whereas folklorist Louis Bourgault-Ducourday

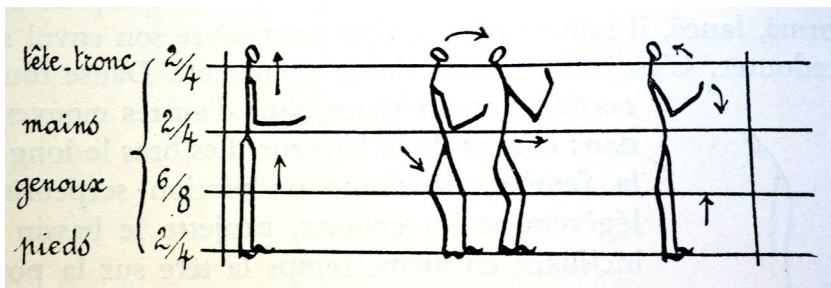


Figure 2. Choreographic notation. Alexis Chottin, *Tableau de musique marocaine*. Paris: Geuthner, 1939.

each with a long history, were integral, valued parts of the Protectorate, a history they intended to shape.

Co-Producing Knowledge and Music

We've seen how important was Chottin's collaboration with Prosper Ricard. The latter commissioned Chottin's reports on Moroccan music. He 'directed' and contributed long introductions to Chottin's *Corpus I* and *II*, and much more. Their respect was mutual and they seemed to have shared many fundamental values, especially a commitment to the Protectorate's agendas. Still, the success of their endeavours depended on investment in and partnership with Moroccans, particularly those with shared interests. Earlier in Rabat, Resident-General Steeg, who began his career as a radical socialist, opened the 1928 Congress of the Institute noting, 'Our coming together will result not from constraints and resignation, but from reciprocal esteem. This will give rise to the collaboration of these two peoples aware of their respective originality' (N.A. 1928). The 1931 International and Intercolonial Congress on Native Society in Paris called on Westerners to 'act upon the native and promote him, in human terms', through 'tolerance' and 'collaboration' (Wilder 2005, 239).

Focus on artisans arose out of the need to counteract the inevitable impact of modern imported goods — 'unemployment and misery touching the majority of artisans in urban centers' — and help them compete successfully with rivals in other countries (Ricard 1931b, 3, 4). To 'protect' their jobs as well as the 'local character of their industries', at first the Protectorate created official workshops in major cities. To encourage production of carpets in the traditional manner and their sale abroad, it established a stamp guaranteeing a rug's authenticity, quality, and 'indigenous character' and deleting the customs tax. Ironically, this could include 'acceptably authentic' innovations, including adaptations to remove foreign influence or suit market demands (Mokhiber, 270–271; see also Girard 2006).

Ricard preferred study and 'indirect supervision' (Ricard n.d.b). During his visits around the country, he asked local leaders and military officers to identify the best artisans who then filled out detailed questionnaires about themselves and their production, its typologies and fabrication methods. Ricard published their answers and his analyses in his multi-volume *Corpus* (1923–1929). But reviving local industries relied most of all on collaborating with Moroccans, including their urban guilds (*corporations*). Recognising practitioners' individual needs, Ricard likewise supported private initiative, allowing artisans to remain in their homes, form their own *corporations*, and sell their products. To train the next generation, including women, the SIA also opened schools.

In Andalusian music too, collaboration was defined as shared work on its revival and renovation. Here too, the presumption of authenticity played a

If Chottin's contacts in Rabat helped him gain access to the Sultan's musician, similarly Ricard and the Pacha of Marrakech, Thami El Glaoui – cosmopolitan son of a slave and close collaborator of the French in their '*pacification*' (conquest) of the mountains and desert – most likely introduced Chottin to Cheulh musicians. Glaoui had his own reasons to collaborate with the French and facilitate access to Chleuh musicians – his ambition to depose the Sultan and take his place. Ricard first encountered their spectacles in Marrakech on his first trip to Morocco in 1913, later at Glaoui's palace. Afterwards, he invited them to perform in Rabat and paid Odéon to record them. In his substantial introduction to Chottin's *Corpus II*, Ricard refers to four major Chleuh Raïs (maestros) from different regions, the size and makeup of their troops, a typical programme, and twelve recordings he commissioned of their songs. Chottin explains that most music in *Corpus II* comes from what he gathered from Raïs Mohammed Sasbou (Muhammad Sasbū). His troop of 16–18 members, with 12 dancers, performed all over the country, including in Casablanca and Rabat where they most likely collaborated on this volume. Some transcriptions are of Sasbou's 'favourite songs', some adaptations of European military band music, recorded by Odéon. Chottin also includes music and dance by Raïs Brahim's ensemble and a spectacle by Raïs Hadj Belaïd. This elderly poet-composer who spoke both Arabic and Berber, a kind of 'official' artist, 'often proclaimed the benefits of the Moroccan state and its representatives'. Glaoui considered Belaïd the most famous of the period. Ricard first met him in Marrakech, where his troop performed at a wedding. Apparently Ricard invited his musicians for a ten-day residency at the CMM where he interviewed the Raïs for his introduction to Chottin's *Corpus II* (Ricard 1933a, 13–15).

CMM offered Chottin an ideal context for teamwork with Moroccan colleagues. Beginning in October 1929, he hired the best local musicians who could both teach and serve as 'informants' in his research. Two of them, El Hadj Abdesslem ben Youssef (al-Hāj 'Abdassalām bin Yūssif) and Si Mohammed MBirkô (Muḥammad Mbirqū), were among the Moroccan delegation to the Congress of Arabic Music (Cairo, 1932). With his phenomenal memory, Ben Youssef, a singer, could dictate an entire *nūba* and identify the melodies on over 50 recordings. MBirkô, rebec and lute performer, could notate his lessons. The singer Moulay Idriss, hired later, could dictate six classical songs, including their variants, and produced a song collection for use in teaching, 200 copies of which Chottin purchased for CMM in 1935.

Like artisans who shared specimens of their best work for Ricard's rug *Corpus*, these colleagues enabled Chottin to notate important musical repertoire. Their collaborations produced enough material for three more volumes of his *Corpus*, sadly unrealised, including transcriptions of 26 pieces from another *nūba*, *Hagaz El Mecherchi* (*Hijāz al-Mašriqī*). These restitutions required

this one, attended by director of Public Instruction Gotteland, the Pacha of Rabat, and many Muslim and European elites, the SIA hoped to stimulate formation of a ‘Franco-Muslim association, the Friends of Moroccan Music’ (Ricard 1934a). With the Protectorate now in power throughout Morocco, was this a model for how it envisaged culture contributing to political stability?

Public Action, New Institutions and the Music Business

Other significant collaborations were based in the public sphere: specifically three new institutions created by the Protectorate – CMM, music festivals, and Radio-Maroc. Here the Protectorate’s engagement in cultural protection, promotion of Arab and Berber culture, and commitment to collaboration gave rise to new jobs for Moroccans, regular salaries, and new markets for their products. This allowed them to make a living that was ‘interesting from both an artistic and financial perspective’ (Ricard 1931b, 6). Although supervised by Frenchmen, Moroccans could express their creativity and grow as artists, spurring unprecedented expansion in the music business, including for women.²⁰ These three institutions also stimulated public interest in Moroccan music and facilitated the formation of a coherent aesthetic, with implications lasting well beyond the Protectorate.

Institutionalising Musical Knowledge at the Conservatoire de Musique Marocaine

Beginning in 1930, the SIA budgeted 20,000 francs per year to support the CMM in Rabat and, with the help of Pathé and Odéon, a library of recordings, musical instruments, and books. It would be a ‘laboratory for Moroccan music where performers come together several times a week at fixed hours throughout the year to work seriously on perfecting their technique and developing their musical culture.’ CMM’s curriculum focused on urban music, predominantly the Andalusian classical tradition. It also taught popular genres, *qacidas* drawing on this tradition and *aïtas* (*aytas/ayta*), ‘long scorned’.²¹ Lessons for ‘pupils asking for instruction as well as *amateurs* [non-professionals] or professionals wanting to improve’ would help ‘save traditional techniques from oblivion and give them new life’ (Ricard 1930, 21; 1931a, iv; 1932a; 1936).

Unlike traditional apprenticeships wherein pupils studied with one teacher, this new institution, recognising multiple ways of knowing and doing, offered instruction from various teachers. Chottin’s credibility as director came from not only his conservatory training, but also his publications, research connections with Moroccan musicians, sincerity, and enthusiasm. Ricard charged him to ‘look after the company’, ‘interact with it daily’, and



Figure 3. Students at the Conservatory of Arabic [Moroccan] Music, Chottin, director. In *L'Afrique du nord illustrée* (11 October 1936).

with Ricard's hands-off approach to working with artisans, 'no unusual intervention would disturb the traditional manner of oral transmission', no 'interference intended to perfect the teacher's pedagogical procedures' (Ricard 1935a). Students learned by listening, including to recordings. As in traditional music apprenticeships, class entailed the teacher's performance of a piece, analysis of its principal characteristics, then students' recital and repetition of fragments until memorised. Separating beginners from those with some knowledge, Chottin created three groups: preparatory concentrating on rhythmic and melodic types, middle-level learning instruments, advanced studying repertoire (Ricard 1931a, iv; Chottin 1934). As noted in Cairo (see below), Ricard expected pupils to take greater care with the quality of sound production than in traditional practices (Ricard 1932c). Among other new procedures were 'advance study of the poetic text, rhythm exercises, singing and intonation exercises, study of the instrumental melody and, together, a *san'a* (singing a poetic stanza, including vocalises and ornaments)' (Chottin 1931, 13–14; 1939, 222.) Curricular decisions were thus shared, though Moroccans controlled their pedagogy.

Weekly concerts were a regular part of CMM, practice integral to knowledge production and training in public performances. Each Saturday professors played together for an hour, introducing pupils to what their

The challenge was to create concerts that were both inclusive and coherent, most likely Chottin's responsibility. Ricard had advertised this as the first time musicians from all regions of Morocco would perform together – in reality, most were from near Rabat. On the first day, after Ricard's introduction, Chottin (1928) addressed urban and rural, mystical and secular music and instruments of popular and art genres. He illustrated the discussion with an *Ahidus* air, sung and danced by three Berbers, as well as 'urban music' – *ghaïta* (*gayta*) airs on the *tebol* (*tbal*), *qacidas* and *moual* sung by women (*hadarat* [*ḥaḍarāt*] and *chikhate* [*ṣīkāt*]) and men (*chiakh* [*ṣiak*]), Andalusian airs and an overture. Day two focused on 'traditional music', with L'Andalousia from Oudja and an orchestra of musicians from Fez and Rabat, including Jaïdi, performing Andalusian airs. Audiences also heard songs by eight Berbers from Zemmour (100 km from Rabat), *ghaïta* airs by musicians from Salé, and *qacidas* by six female *chikhates* from Rabat.²³ 'A very original interlude by a Negro clown from Marrakech' provided contrast (Ricard 1928, 9).

Day three's concert turned to Moroccan and European, choral and instrumental, classical and modern, old and new music by young and established performers. These juxtapositions called for comparative listening in the French tradition of using concerts to promote understanding of differences (Pasler 2009). This time the concert began and ended with Chottin's Moroccan-inspired compositions, as if modern day Morocco should be framed by a French standpoint. The local military band opened with his warrior march, *Dans l'Atlas*, based on Berber themes, a reference to France's ongoing attempts to subdue the region. Chottin's popular school choruses, *Le Muezzin*, performed by his pupils, ended the concert. Between his *Berceuse mauresque* and *Danse nègre* came three Andalusian pieces by L'Andalousia. In this context, traditional Moroccan music contrasted with modern hybridity, memory and nostalgia with contemplation of the future.

Chottin got his start as *Ménestrel's* 'correspondent' with his long, evocative review of its 1929 successor, again coinciding with the 'Mouloud' festival (1929b). This time, besides he and Ricard, Mohammed Ben Ghabrit (Muhammad Bin Ġabrit), Si Azouaou Mammeri from Marrakech, and the director of the publicity agency Havas organised a concert at the Oudayas. The blind musician Si Mohamed Krombi opened with musettes from the upper remparts of the Kasbah. Ben Ghabrit presented an orchestra of the 'best musicians from Rabat and Salé', including a rebab player and Black lutenist. Although not professional, Ben Ghabrit conducted them 'as if an ensemble worthy of our symphonic phalanxes' in performances of two *nūbas* in different modes. Two troops of female *chikhate* from Rabat and Marrakech followed, together with the master (*mâllem*) Khadidja in well-received performances of popular *qacidas*, *moual*, and *āïtas*. Chottin (1929b) reached out to Westerners, describing 'sophisticated *āïtas*' as 'invocations that

requesting for Egyptian music' (W.S. 1932). But, when the Congress's Education Committee recommended that 'elements of solfège' (*Tonic-Solfa*) be taught to children at all levels, eventually replaced by traditional [Western] notation, Ricard and Chottin pushed back. At the CMM, they had largely rejected solfège and piano in training Moroccan musicians (Ricard 1932c, 1935a). Debates in Cairo did not change their minds. Moreover, while colleagues recognised that Morocco's traditional repertoire was rich, albeit using the diatonic scale, unlike in Egypt, some found Moroccan performances lacking the nuances and precision of Egyptian ones (Chottin 1932). Moroccans' three concerts illustrating Andalusian tradition seemed 'outdated and anachronistic' to Egyptians, the 30-minute pieces 'too long', leaving them 'visibly weary' (Chottin 1933a). Ricard agreed that, even if Moroccan musicians 'make a strong impression and can provoke a somewhat deep ecstasy', they don't listen enough to one another and are indifferent to the quality of voices and instruments'. Ricard and Chottin left determined to address this criticism. Furthermore, Ricard felt that 'Moroccan musicians better understood the goal and meaning of our efforts and returned even more disposed to collaborate on the task of renovation undertaken by their country' (Ricard c. 1932b, 1936; see also Benabdeljalil 2018).

Fez

In 1933 the Institute held its annual congress in Rabat and Fez (April 13–21), featuring concerts of Andalusian and Chleuh music and, in a village near Sefrou, a Berber spectacle with 500 performing. Chottin notated two improvisations. The global economic crisis interrupted plans to invite many Europeans, including Manuel de Falla. Nonetheless, Bencheneb, from Algiers, spoke on Arabic theatre; Ricard, Baldoui, Jeanne Jouin and two others addressed Moroccan arts there for the first time; Chottin analysed rhythm and meter in Andalusian music in Morocco, Robert Lachmann, from Germany, the state of music in the Near-East. The latter's participation led to publication of Ricard's review and Chottin (1933c) on Moroccan singing in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*.

The first Congress of Moroccan Music (Fez, May 6–10, 1939) – originally called Congress of Andalusian Music – had strong Moroccan support and participation.²⁵ Besides Resident-General Noguès, sponsors included the Sultan, the Pacha of Fez, and Glaoui, Pacha of Marrakech. Noguès's goals recalled Ricard's earlier call for return to sources, performances of Andalusian and Berber traditions, and renovation (Noguès 1939). Like Cairo's Congress, this one attracted foreign orchestras. Negotiating Algerian participation was not easy, as its administrators feared that some musicians might bring 'panislamic or panarabic' influences 'hostile to our domination'. Orchestras from Tlemcen, Algiers and Tunis made it, their expenses covered by the Protectorate; those from Constantine and Blidah did not (Secrétaire-Général 1939).

Africa. These encouraged Arabic-speaking attendees to reflect on emerging regional identity.

The Congress also drew attention to other topics. Discussed in the Coordination Committee's meeting in February 1939 were Jewish music and *melhoun* (*malḥūn*), but also of interest were other popular genres and music outside the Protectorate. In committee discussions, El Fassi, Mohammed ben Ghabrit, and Si Mammeri called Jewish music 'classical music deformed by the singers' Israeli accent'. Vicaire pointed out that some Jewish musicians performed Andalusian repertoire not preserved by Muslims (Comité de Propagande 1939). In his talk, Chottin focused on Andalusian music in the synagogue and comparative music terminology across North Africa. This was significant, first, because study of Jewish music was rare at the time, despite its connection to the Andalusian tradition, and, second, because even rarer were studies that looked beyond national boundaries.

Beloved of urban elites, including El Fassi, *melhoun*, sung poetry developed in southern Morocco, drew on Andalusian modes. Under pressure from Moroccans on its advisory committee, Radio-Maroc had been broadcasting the genre since late 1937. A special session in Fez, devoted to *melhoun*, featured talks by Mammeri from Marrakech (on its *chikhates*), Bahnini, Zaghari and Ba Heninni from Fez. There was also one on Moroccan Berber music, with Moulay Idriss speaking on Bedouin songs in Chaouïa and Tadla, Berberologist Arsène Roux on Berber music of central Morocco, and singers from the Grand Atlas and Beni-M'Tir. On the Arabic session, Moulay Idriss examined *aïta*, *griha*, and mystical music, showing how they differed from both Andalusian and Berber music. Patronico Garcia Barriuso, a Franciscan in Tangiers known for his work renovating Hispano-Muslim music, shared his transcriptions of music from the Spanish zone and published a chronicle of the event in Spanish, later a book.²⁸ And Raphael Arevalo, Rabati professor, spoke on Andalusian music in Tetouan. When he opened the Congress, Goteland noted, 'Since the accomplishments of the last ten years, Moroccan music has captured the place it is due in the social life and cultural development of this country'. Citing Chottin's just-published *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, he hoped that this music has 'finally entered into its triumphant period of creative evolution' (*Le petit marocain*, May 7).

Important also, as in Rabat's 1928 festival, was balance between Andalusian and Berber performances, along with inclusion of modern music. In an outdoor garden after the Arabic session (May 7), audiences heard three Andalusian orchestras, followed by three Berber ensembles, including the Chleuh, then at the Fair, an evening concert of Andalusian music. After the session on popular genres (May 9), introduced by Chottin in French, El Fassi in Arabic, came an afternoon concert from work songs, lullabies, and processional music to *guembri* players from Fez and *melhoun* from Marrakech. The evening featured Chleuh

recordings. Regular live concerts of Moroccan music on Radio-Maroc built on and spurred creation of new Moroccan ensembles, unlike in Algeria where Glasser (2016, 212) suggests that French interventions regarding the 'patrimonial cause' arose in competition with local musical associations. Radio-Maroc provided broad dissemination, unprecedented, stable employment, and legitimisation for practice-based knowledge. Broadcasts shaped public taste and encouraged reflection on new identities – national, North-African, and hybrid. Along with lectures, compositions and publications in the popular press, Chottin used his organisational role to contribute to these goals, while seeking commonalities between Moroccans and Westerners.

Recordings and Radio

Already in 1927, Ricard was collaborating with the Archives de la Parole in Paris, and Chottin willing to transcribe Moroccan recordings for publication by Editions Geuthner. Taking advantage of the Berber Festival in Rabat in the spring 1929 and the SIA's subsidy for the future 'Museum of Moroccan Music', they organised recording of almost 120 examples of Moroccan music in the courtyard of the Oudayas museum. Evidently Pathé, already with substantial Moroccan recordings by 1926 and envisaged as co-collaborator, would have to go through various French ministries. Two commercial competitors were used instead.

Here, as elsewhere, representing diversity was a priority. Columbia (American) recorded ten artists and groups, mostly from around Rabat, including Saharan musician Ben Yahia, two blind musicians, and the Sultan's Black Guard. These performed *bitain*, *aïtas*, *qacidas*, *moual*, Andalusian music, and wind-band arrangements. Odéon (German) made 51 records, that is, of a popular group from Marrakech (16), Raïs Sasbou's ensemble, later studied in Chottin's *Corpus II* (7), another Chleuh group (11), an Andalusian group from Fez (6), three Berber groups from Zemmour (5), a comic from Marrakech, probably Hommane Ben Guir (3) and 'Negro musicians from Souss' (1) (Ricard 1936). Surprisingly, only eight were of Andalusian music perhaps because audiences could hear this music live on Radio-Maroc. Soon, the SIA was working with Pathé. Its July 1930 catalogue lists not only Chottin's Franco-Arabic choruses, *Le Muezzin*, and his *Barcarolle orientale*, but also five records (33,076–33,080) that El Hadj Abdelslam Errbati's troop made of eight pieces from the *Nouba de Ochchäk*, perhaps another source for Chottin's *Corpus I* (1931).

From the beginning, Chottin curated Radio-Maroc's broadcasts of Moroccan music. Concerts during the 1928 festival, aired a few days before the station's official inauguration on April 15, 1928, set a precedent for including 'Arabic music'. Thereafter, the SIA paid him to choose singers, instrumentalists, and repertoire for 30-minute concerts each Wednesday. In December,

Table 1. Hybrid Concerts in Morocco (1936–1938).

DATE	25 May 1936	16 Feb 1937	25 Feb 1937	30 July 1938
PLACE	Radio-Maroc, from the Institute, Rabat	Radio-Maroc	Municipal Theater, Casablanca	Festival of the Throne
REPERTOIRE Part 1	CMM: Touchiat in mode Hgazi-Mcharqui (stet)		CMM: Touchiat in mode Hgazi-Mcharqui (stet)	<i>Day concert:</i> Andalusian music by radio orchestras of Rabat, Fez, Marrakech, and Casablanca, plus Brihi
	RM SYM orch: Chottin, <i>Le départ de la Harka from Scènes marocains</i>	RM SYM orch: Chottin, <i>Scènes marocains; Sur les terrasses; Marangue, Maroc Suite</i>	Casablanca CONS orch: Chottin, <i>Dans l'Atlas</i>	
		<i>Andalousian melodies, collected, harmonized and transl. Chottin</i> RM orch: (M'Birkko): <i>Aocâf oujâb, Yâ Asafâ</i>		
LECTURE	Chottin: Historical Origins of Andalusian music		Chottin: Historical Origins of Andalusian music (in French and Arabic)	<i>Evening concert:</i> Chottin: Introduction (in French and Arabic)
REPERTOIRE Part 2	CMM: 3 Andalusian songs : <i>Aocâf oujâb, Ahda nassimou-s-sabah, Yâ Asafâ</i>		CMM: 4 Andalusian songs: <i>Aocâf oujâb, Ahda nassimou-s-sabah, Selli houmounek, Yâ Asafâ</i>	
	RM SYM orch: same songs, transcribed, harmonized, translated by Chottin		CONS orch: same songs transcribed, harmonized, with French translations	RM SYM: Andalousian Music, transcribed by Chottin and Gouget-Valière
	RM SYM orch: 3 modern compositions inspired by Moroccan folklore: Chottin, <i>Au jardins de Fez</i> , Foudok, from <i>Salé, Sur les terrasses</i>	RM SYM orch: Chottin, Foudok, from <i>Salé, Lalo, Danses marocaines, Borda, Esquisses Tunisiennes, Saëns, Marche, Algérienne.</i>	CONS orch: Chottin, <i>Scènes marocains, Salé, Sur les terrasses</i>	

conducted by El Ougdach. Thereafter, songs of various Berbers – Chleuh, Glaoua, Haha and Souktana – appeared on Radio-Maroc. French listeners appreciated these programmes, perhaps more accessible than Andalousian music.³⁰ Beginning in 1945, Radio-Maroc produced *émissions berbères* three days a week until their second station offered Berber dialects regularly. Like Andalusian genres, Berber music, given related Amazigh language dialects across the region, also bridged North-African differences.³¹

Chottin remained ‘musical advisor’ of Moroccan orchestras on Radio-Maroc through at least 1939, serving on advisory committees with majority Moroccan members. In June 1939 the overseeing committee asked him to establish its music programmes a month in advance. Some wished to encourage ‘modern Moroccan music’ with prizes. Chottin was charged with recruiting and training Moroccan musicians in this domain. These activities led to further expansion and jobs for CMM musicians on Radio-Maroc during and after the war. To understand the impact of these institutions on Moroccan music, we await historical studies by Moroccan musicologists as well as further research on the musicians involved in these collaborations.

Post-War Public Education and New Alliances

The Protectorate’s agendas depended on European as well as Moroccan support. For decades, Chottin wrote about Moroccan music in local and European journals. If earlier these were largely colonial periodicals, based in France, by the 1940s they included local newspapers, where he published columns and multi-partite articles, often derived from his previous publications. Weekly installments in *Pique-Boeuf* (1941–1942) began with ‘Andalusian music and us’, then articles on Moroccan popular theatre and monthly installments of his 1928 lecture, ‘Faces of Moroccan Music’. The newspaper’s front pages featured large illustrations of Berber dance spectacles and Kasbahs, artisans at work and Moroccan pottery. Chottin himself appears on the cover in May 1942, his last essay addressing ‘Franco-Moroccan Harmony.’ In spring 1949, drawing on his *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, Chottin wrote a column, ‘Arabic Music’, in *Hebdo-Radio*, a magazine for radio listeners, including musical examples and choreographic drawings.

Complementing Chottin’s articles in *Hebdo-Radio*, from 1946 to 1951 Prosper Ricard delivered almost 200 lectures on Radio-Maroc about ‘Moroccan arts and *artisanat*.’ These included ‘Effects of music, according to Muslims’, ‘Listening to Andalusian music’, ‘The legend of the lute’, Zerrouki on Western and Arabic music, and the composer Manuel de Falla. From 1948–1951, Ricard also published similar articles in the *Journal des instituteurs de l’Afrique du Nord*. Meanwhile, Chottin prepared a second volume of Berber

Distressed at CMM's diminished state after the war and beginning to think that North-African art and culture 'should be directed toward the West, instead of the Middle East', Chottin also proposed creation of an intercultural 'Institute of Modern Arabic Music'. Taught by Bel Khadir, Balafrej, Si Jouini from Tunisia, a *mâlema* from Fez, and a European singing teacher, students would include Moroccans and young North Africans who knew traditional music, but wished to create original genres inspired by jazz, classical European, popular Spanish, or Hindu music. This Institute would teach traditional Moroccan instruments as well as those of the Western orchestra and jazz, ancient and classical Arabic musical forms alongside classical and modern European music. 'Renovation' would be accomplished, first, by rendering 'audible' 'the best pieces of the ancient repertoire', perfecting performance *quality* and interpretation of the words; second, by 'creating new works', such as Chottin's '*abdou-tango*', incorporating melodies dictated by Balafrej. Crucial would be the Institute's liaisons with other institutions, including those producing film and radio in the United States. As Chottin (c.1949) conceived it, this new institution would transform the production of the knowledge and practice by North Africans, trained in multiple musical traditions. It's not clear this Institute materialised.

Conclusions and Legacy

From Arab elites' desire to maintain their status to the outsized ambitions of Glaoui, Chleuh Pacha of Marrakech, complex political motivations aligned Moroccans with the French. To the extent that musical practices contributed to shared agendas, these alliances facilitated collaborations and co-production of knowledge. Through negotiating their various modes of expertise, they both accrued benefits. To understand this, we need to study the local and individual dimensions of the period, examining interactions between Ricard and Chottin, them and Moroccans, as Glissant's *Relations*, documented in Ricard's archives and other little-known sources. Each emerged transformed and audiences given much to reflect on, with important implications for the future.

As in traditional craft industries, the French brought organisational skills, entrepreneurship and patronage (Irbouh 2005, 221), while imposing European notions of discipline, work and supervision. Through concerts, journalism, and media, Ricard and Chottin deployed French power over the public sphere to promote Moroccan music in national and international contexts. From these, Chottin grew professionally as institutional leader, concert organiser, ethnographic researcher, and music critic. In using their authority to shape policy and access to Moroccan musical traditions, he and Ricard became life-long, devoted advocates. Meanwhile, in helping Moroccan

too hybridity in Chottin's transcriptions and compositions inspired by Moroccan music, concerts on Table 1, and ensembles like the *Orchestre franco-marocain* functioned not to foreground difference to dominate it, but rather to seek out connections, thereby making audible French ambitions of productive coexistence with Morocco's diverse populations.

These Franco-Moroccan partnerships and Moroccan musicians, who found new outlets in these collaborations, created a significant legacy. In its privileging of the Andalusian tradition, the methods it developed, and the personnel it trained, the CMM laid the foundation for conservatories established by the Minister of Culture throughout the country following independence. Today most teach Andalusian music.³² Chottin's study and inclusion of Berber musicians in festivals and on Radio-Maroc, far less recognised, were arguably equally important, anticipating the recent 'linguistic and cultural recognition' of the Amazigh people in the 1990s. The Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), founded in 2001, called for 'reclaiming pre-Islamic history' and 'the construction of a modern Amazigh cultural heritage' (Lakhsassi 2006, 115–123). In 2011, Amazigh (Tamazight) became Morocco's second national language, alongside Arabic. French advocacy for balance among Moroccan traditions set a precedent for government-sponsored music festivals, in 2012–2016 showcasing Amazigh *Ahidus* and *Ahwach*, Andalusian '*Tarab Al-Ala*', women's *aïta*, and popular song. Contemporary Moroccans have thus incorporated this history into their own. My purpose is both to give voice to the many Moroccan musicians who played major roles in it, albeit long forgotten, and to contribute to accurate deconstruction.

Notes

1. Archives Nationales du Maroc (ANM), F 140.
2. Since independence, North African history has been used to legitimate power or was held 'hostage to partisan or ideological perspectives', focused on the 'struggle against colonialism and the war for independence' as well as 'the heroic Algerian people' (Mohand-Amer 2021).
3. The theory of co-production arose in the 1970s to describe relations between providers and users of goods and services, recently extended to policy makers and practitioners, the latter ranging from informants to co-researchers. Currently, it also connotes 'the contribution of multiple knowledge sources and capacities from different stakeholders' (Djenontin and Meadow 2018). See also Lemos and Morehouse (2005).
4. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf
5. Calderwood 2018 argues for the role played by Spain in this 'modern invention', especially during civil war (1936–1939) when General Franco exploited the Spanish Muslim past.
6. Glasser (2016, 217) concludes that, in Algeria today, 'Andalusi music represents an element of continuity with the late colonial era', but explains this as 'the presence of people' who straddled both eras.

- (2012a, 80; 2012b, 120, 123). In 1924, at the Société française de musicologie in Paris, Marie-Thérèse de Lens, Meknes musicologist and singer in Arabic who accompanied her songs on Moroccan instruments, discussed female '*chikhates*' in Meknes, including in local harems, their 'secret' wedding and funeral songs, and *qacidas* using augmented seconds (1920, 142–143; A.S. 1924). As shown here, Chottin included their music at the CMM and in the 1928, 1929, and 1939 festivals. Professor of Arabic, he spoke it fluently, as did Ricard.
24. See studies by Ali Jihad Racy and Salwa el-Shawan.
 25. Archival sources for the festival are dispersed and partial. See sources cited herein.
 26. Eugène Borrel spoke on Moroccan scales, Claudie Marcel-Dubois on Moroccan flutes, Mady Humbert-Sauvageot on polyphony in exotic music, and Gaston Knosp on Oriental music developments. Colonel Pierre Féline, residing in Rabat, addressed rhythm in Moroccan music and Egyptian music's influences on Moroccan music.
 27. Composers Georges Auric, Robert Bernard, Florent Schmitt, and Charles Koechlin (who presented on modes); critics Henri Gilles (Gil-Marchex), M. de Lansaye, Pierre Leroy, and Paul Locard; and their wives.
 28. *La Musica hispano-musulmana en Marruecos*, Tanger: Instituto Granco, 1941. Calderwood (2018, 235) explains, 'the Spanish felt that the French were encroaching on a piece of Spain's national patrimony'.
 29. In contrast to this interpretation, Glasser (2016, 213) suggests that 'fusion' was the goal here, that 'to undertake effective fusion, there must be a clear conceptual separation of the practices that are to be brought together.'
 30. 'Radio et folklore au Maroc', *France Outre-Mer* (August 20, 1937).
 31. For more about music on Radio-Maroc, see Pasler 2014 and 2021.
 32. For example, Rabat, Kenitra, Fez, Tetouan, Tanger, Larache, Chefchaouen, Ksar El Kébir, Marrakech, Meknes, Safi, Essaouira, and Salé. <https://www.minculture.gov.ma/fr/?p=562>

Abbreviations

ADN: Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes
 ANM: Archives Nationales du Maroc
 ANOM: Archives d'Outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence
 CCM: Conservatoire de Musique Marocaine
 PRC: Prosper Ricard Collection, ANM
 SIA: Service of Indigenous Arts.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

References

- Amrani, Yousra. 2019. "Le Projet de loi-cadre sur l'enseignement sera voté mardi prochain." *Le Matin* (Casablanca), July 12–14.
- A.S. 1924. "Concerts Divers." *Ménestrel* 86 (23): 257–258.

- Chottin, Alexis. c.1949. "Quelques idées et suggestions sur le Conservatoire de musique marocaine." ADN.
- Chottin, Alexis. n.d. "Ya Asafa ...". ANM and PRC.
- Ciucci, Alessandra. 2012a. "The Study of Women and Music in Morocco." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44 (4): 787–789.
- Ciucci, Alessandra. 2012b. "Embodying the Countryside in Aïta Hasbawiya (Morocco)." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 44: 109–128.
- Comité de Coordination. 1939. "Séance du 17 février 1939." PRC.
- Comité de Propagande. 1939. "Réunion du 23 février 1939." PRC.
- Cooper, Fred. 2005. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: UC Press.
- Cooper, Fred, and Ann Stoler. 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: UC Press.
- Davila, Carl. 2013. *The Andalusian Music of Morocco*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- DG [Direction générale de l'Instruction publique, des Beaux-arts et des Antiquités]. 1931. *Service des Arts Indigènes, Historique (1912-1930)*. Rabat: Protectorat.
- Djenontin, I. N. S., and A. M. Meadow. 2018. "The Art of Co-Production of Knowledge in Environmental Sciences and Management: Lessons from International Practice." *Environmental Management* 61: 885–903.
- El Mechat, Samia. 2009. *Les Administrations coloniales, XIXe-XXe siècles*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Feld, Steven. 2015. "'Acoustemology'." In *Keywords in Sound*, edited by D. Novak and M. Sakakeeny, 12–21. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gelbart, Matthew. 2007. *The Invention of Folk and Art Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Girard, Muriel. 2006. "Invention de la tradition et authenticité sous le Protectorat au Maroc." *Socio-Anthropologie* 19. <https://socio-anthropologie.revues.org/pdf/563>
- Glasser, Jonathan. 2016. *The Lost Paradise: Andalusí Music in Urban North Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Glissant, Edouard. 1997. *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Guettat, Mahmoud. 2000. *La Musique arabo-andalouse: l'empreinte du Maghreb*. Paris: El-Ouns.
- Hajji, Abderraouf. 2007. *Saïd Hajji. Naissance de la presse nationale marocaine*. Québec, Canada: Lebonfon.
- Hardy, Georges. 1920. "Discours, 9 juin 1920." *Bulletin de l'Institut Des Hautes Études Marocaines* 1 (December): 4–9.
- Harrate Daoudi, Mohammed. 2016. "Interview with Jann Pasler, Rabat," September 30.
- Hatim, Yahia. 2019. "Ministry of Culture Launches Renovation Projects of Monuments in Rabat." September. <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2019/09/282908/ministry-culture-renovation-projects-monuments-rabat/>.
- Heaton, Janet, Jo Day, and Nicky Britten. 2015. "Collaborative Research and the Co-Production of Knowledge for Practice: An Illustrative Case Study." *Implementation Science* 11: 20. doi:10.1186/s13012-016-0383-9.
- Irbouh, Hamid. 2005. *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912–1956*. New York: Tauris.
- Jasanoff, Sheila. 2004. *States of Knowledge: The Co-Production of Science and the Social Order*. New York: Routledge.
- Laâbi, Abdellatif. 1966. "Réalités et dilemmes de la culture nationale (I)." *Souffles* (4): 4–12.

- Pasler, Jann. 2015. "The Racial and Colonial Implications of Early French Music Ethnography, 1860s–1930s." In *Critical Music Historiography: Probing Canons, Ideologies, and Institutions*, edited by Markus Mantere and Vesa Kurkela, 17–43. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Pasler, Jann. 2020. "Musical Work in the Tunisian Protectorate: Paul Frémaux, Antonin Laffage, and Evolving Colonial Identities." *Revue de musicologie* 106 (1): 45–88.
- Pasler, Jann. 2021. "Teaching Andalusian music at Rabat's Conservatoire de musique marocaine: Franco-Moroccan Collaborations under Colonialism." In *A Sea of Voices: Music and Encounter at the Mediterranean Crossroads*, edited by Ruth Davis and Brian Oberlander, 124–150. London: Routledge Press.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1917. "Arts citadins et les arts ruraux dans l'Afrique du Nord." *France-Maroc* (5): 20–27.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1918a. "Les Arts et industries indigènes du Nord de l'Afrique. I. Arts ruraux," Lecture at the Collège musulman de Fès, February 5, 1916. Fez: Imprimerie municipale.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1918b. *Arts marocains: I. Broderies*. Algiers: Bastie-Jourdan.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1919a. "L'Evolution des idées à Fez." *France-Maroc* (8): 226–228.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1919b. *Maroc, Guides Bleus*. Paris: Hachette.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1923. *Corpus des tapis marocains, I: Tapis de Rabat*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1928. *Essai d'action sur la musique et le théâtre populaire marocains par le Service des Arts Indigènes en 1928*. Rabat: Imprimerie Nouvelle.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1929. "La Rénovation des tapis marocains." *Outre-mer* (June): 184–192.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1930. "Les Arts marocains et leur rénovation." *Revue d'Afrique* 6: 7. republished as a brochure, Bordeaux: Cadoret.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1931a. "Préface." In Chottin, *Corpus I*: i–v.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1931b. "La Protection de la vie locale au Maroc. Congrès international et intercolonial de la société indigène, Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, (July 15): 1–13.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1932a. "Une Tentative de rénovation à la musique marocaine: le Conservatoire de musique marocaine de Rabat." PRC.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1932b. "Le Conservatoire de musique marocaine de Rabat." *Outre-mer* (1): 20–29.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1932c. "Le Congrès de musique arabe du Caire (14 mars–4 avril 1932)," (June 26). PRC.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1932d. "La Musique orientale au Congrès de musique arabe du Caire." PRC.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1933a. "Préface." In Chottin, *Corpus II*: 1.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1933b. "Note sur la musique et la danse dans du pays Chleuh" (January 30, 1932). In Chottin, *Corpus II*: 7–15.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1934a. "Audition au Conservatoire de musique marocaine," (March 2). PRC.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1934b. "L'Industrie indigène au Maroc." *Bulletin économique du Maroc* (October): 423–437.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1935a. "Au sujet de l'enseignement du solfège au Conservatoire et dans les écoles de musique arabe du Maroc," (August 30). PRC.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1935b. "Le Conservatoire de musique marocaine." *L'Afrique du Nord illustrée* (December 7): 18–19.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1936. "La Rénovation des arts musicaux au Maroc," (February 10). PRC.
- Ricard, Prosper. 1941. "Note pour servir à une définition de l'artisan marocain," (October 27). PRC.